2:Armellada--5 M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16
Venezuelan Indians SS4

P /4 cont./

101 Therefore, for the reasons given, I propose to missionaries and ethnographers that they use preferentially this word Pemón

P when talking, in common, of these tribes or of their language.

161 6. From the census published in the Boletín de la Sociedad
114 de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. VIII, No. 53, and which contains,
[113] almost complete, the account of "Exploración del río Paragua y sus affluentes /Exploration of the Paragua River and Its Tributaries/," and from another census included in an unpublished memoir about "Exploración de Kamarata, Tiriká y Urimán /Exploration of Kamarata, Tiriká, and Urimán/," and published by Mons. Gómez in the memoir of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 1941, and through Father Baltasar de Matallana in his book Labor de los PP. Capuchinos en la Misión del Caroní /Work of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, it turns out that the number of Pemón Indians is only 2,500 (two thousand five hundred).

Quite a revelation for those who believe in uncounted hordes of Indians!

The number of Indians is generally exaggerated for the reasons that we point out in the already referred to "Exploración del río Paragua"; there was a missionary who, taken in, in good faith, by the accounts of the Creoles, stated that there

V were on the Gran Sabana no less than 14,000 Indians.

161 Although it only be in passing, I shall avail myself of this
114 opportunity to state that the official census, which computes the number of natives existing in Venezuela at 130,000, is highly exaggerated. Through personal knowledge and other trustworthy data, I can state positively that the number of Indians does not reach 60,000.

P 7. The Pemón have as bordering tribes the Makuchí and
101 the Uapichana toward Brazil; the Uaika, Seregóng, Patamona,

P etc., toward British Guiana; the Sapé, Arutaní, and Pauaná
[175] toward the Paragua River. In addition we must bear in mind
[177] that since four centuries ago the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch,

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

157 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava andají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

/36 cont./

356 [372] But to smell of smoke is an unavoidable thing in their persons, houses, and hammocks, since with considerable truth and not without a certain humor they themselves say that fire is their covering.

78. Indian women are familiar with the broom, tutumai or patá kuimatók, and around the house, for ten meters or more, they are always making by sweeping, pruning, and with shells, a border where generally grow up cotton plants, tobacco, and cucurbitaceous plants and sometimes some red lilies called pareurai.

825 79. It is true that the Indians do not always manage to keep themselves free of common parasites, the origin of which they attribute to vultures, especially the women who have long hair, nor are they free of chigoes, friends of dust and all but impossible to exterminate on dirt floors.

But are not these insects, under the name of woods animals, perhaps still living among us also, giving rise to many commentaries and statements?

825 In addition, chigoes on male children are considered to be an augury of the fact that when they are adult they will be very diligent and hard working, and in female children, that they will be good looking and very sought after.

This is one of the reasons why sometimes the flea-bitten might be considered to be almost elegant.

Anyone who knows country life well will understand the non-problem and the total nonexistence of facilities for the satisfaction of personal physiological necessities.

515 ●177 80. In corroboration with what has already been set down by the observer of the Kamarakoto Indians, I must state that the Indians who are filthiest in their persons and in their homes are almost always the /37/ semicivilized ones, that is to say, those who neither live in the state of nature nor have assimilated our civilization; they lose what they had and they do not acquire what is ours, except by half measures; for instance, they might have clothing and lack thread and soap, or have shoes and no stockings, etc., etc.

/39 cont./

755 Therefore, the Indians, scorning natural observation, go with blind faith to their piaches or enchanters, who are con-
000 sidered doctors or curers and never as priests. Pliny the Elder has already made note of and written: "No one doubts that magic was born from medicine. In primitive societies the magician was, above all, a physician." Very correctly did Proodt also write that "as primitive men attribute sickness to the action of a spirit, they are not content with the simple administration of infusions or powders."

757
● 177 The use of a few tisanes, purgatives, and emollients, of a few shell poultices with more or less tannic acid (and as a result disinfectant), and the application of formic acid directly by means of the bite of ants or wasps, all of these almost certainly were learned from the Creoles. In any case this constitutes an exception in their medicinal regimen and in their mentality or means of conceiving of diseases and their remedies.

755 88. The typical way in which the Indians cure themselves is by means of the tarénmurú (charms or magic prayers) and the practices of the piaches, which are of the same sort. We might, perhaps, have a chance to return to the subject of these charms; for the time being let it suffice to say that they are "a short prayer addressed to a piá or pachí (trunk or head) of a certain animal, plant, or legendary being, possessor of qualities or power against the evil which it is desired to dispel, or with the ability to produce some good which is desired, or the vehicle of some disease which it is desired might enter into another." These words are pronounced over some receiving-transmitting object and in addition it is blown upon, not with the mouth but with the nose; this also gives rise to the name of blowing (tarén), which is given to the charms. These, as has been seen, can either be beneficial, tarem-bá, or maleficent, mui-má. /40/

000 89. For the greater clarity of what is herein said, I shall copy a Pemón charm and shall transcribe another Egyptian one,

797 /79 cont./

[177] The Indians have very good dispositions; they do not resist our civilization, nor do they refuse to learn our language, nor are they systematically opposed to exogamy or matrimonial union with those of other areas. But they ought not to be educated for our benefit, but for their own; we should not seek our own well-being in them, but to dedicate ourselves in truth to procuring for them their own physical and moral well-being.

172. Maternal love. One of the causes which, in the native oral literature, appears as the most frequent reason for their flights, is that attraction which in our language is called patriotic love and maternal love. And it is quite clear that, far from being a reprehensible feeling, this is on the contrary a most noble feeling and one worthy of all praise. And this is what those who would like to always keep next to them the Indians whom they have educated should think of, without thinking about what greater rights the mothers who bore and nursed them have.

A short time ago an employee today attached to a Venezuelan embassy abroad said to me (without realizing that I was a missionary) that all work carried out on behalf of the Indians was useless, that missionaries were wasting time and energy and the Government its money. I replied to him that I was a missionary and that we missionaries had a higher opinion of his Indian compatriots, and that far from wasting time and energy, the fruit gathered both in former times as well as in the 20 years of this second stage of the missions was sufficient.

[113] 173. Results. Today I can refer to Cuaderno 42 of the Conferencia Interamericana de Agricultura, entitled Labor de los Padres Capuchinos de la Misión del Caroní /Labor of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, by /80/ the Reverend Father Baltasar de Matallana. I recommend the reading of this, particularly pages 73-80, since they expound clearly and simply our mission methods and their effects.

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, cazuelas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

● 177 179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
439 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
[441] been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[412] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
(301) mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
(291) they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

/0/ territory that is now Venezuelan Guayana was occupied by Indians of Carib
/3/ stock, not greatly unlike those of the coastal region of Caracas or Cumaná.

●/7/ In northern Venezuela, although Indian blood still visibly survives in many places, Indian culture and tribal organization are now almost completely absorbed into the modern Venezuelan culture, mainly of European origin. Some European influence has penetrated everywhere, even to the most remote tribes who have not yet seen white men, but in general the great mass of Carib tribes south of the Orinoco have resisted this advance, aided by the difficulty of access to their region. Many of them still retain their tribal organization and an almost purely aboriginal culture. Here pre-Columbian American civilization can still be studied, and particularly that of the Caribs, in most respects the most important aboriginal stock in Venezuela.

/2/ The importance of studying these Indians is very great and its urgency not less so. From the historical point of view, such studies show the indigenous basis of Venezuelan history and culture. From a social point of view an understanding of them may permit an easing of the inevitable process of Europeanization and a lessening of the unintentional brutality that usually accompanies it. Such a study may also prove that the survival of these Indian cultures is a definite economic resource. In any case, these Indians belong to Venezuela, even though they are barely aware of this fact, and knowledge of them by the other, the more civilized Venezuelans, is an obligation and can be a great pleasure. These studies are urgent, because the renascent Venezuela of recent years is advancing impetuously into the most remote fastnesses, and much that is most picturesque and most important in their Indian cultures is disappearing from year to year.

/0/ Most of the Indians of southeastern Venezuela, especially between the
/3/ Caroní on the west and the borders of British Guiana and of Brazil on east and south, belong to a particular branch of Caribs that can best be called Arekuna. The Arekuna division of Caribs, which forms an important surviving nucleus of such Indians, is itself divisible into several quite closely allied by consciously separate tribes, including the Taurepanes near Roroima and the Kamarakotos around the equally great mountain Auyan-tapui. The latter Indians form the subject of this monograph.

/0/ From a broader point of view all the aboriginal cultures of Venezuela
/7/ east and south of the Andes, with all those of British, Dutch and French Guiana and those of extreme northern Brazil, have many traits in common and can be considered as belonging to one culture area or subarea of South America. This is well called the Northeastern or the Guayana (or Guiana) Area, the latter because it centers around Venezuelan Guayana and is typically developed also in the other Guianas. This area in turn has some more general traits in common with others in South America east of the Andes in the north and of the Chaco and Uruguay in the south. This, the so-called Amazon Area, is thus a major

101 132 182 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others habitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taurepanes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 178 [177] Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence, the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1 ∧ 2 ∧ [see footnotes on p. 305; category 116 – Analyst]

LANGUAGE

197 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but referable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect, Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language, [192] being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at [177] most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words apply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,[8] and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than directly from Spanish-speaking people.

114 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia-
192 lect, the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kamarakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, waila (= waira), "membrum virile," and (u)sa:yi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by mé. The third, maikuli (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and [197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions, his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamarakotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

Phonetics

Introduction.

194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto

[8] [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 — Analyst]

Numbers.

802 Travelers have often stated that Carib Indians cannot count above four.[40] When I first interrogated a Spanish-speaking Kamarakoto he assured me that the Indians cannot, indeed, count above four — perhaps he had been told so by a previous visitor. Of course this is untrue and Caribs, including Kamarakotos, can count any reasonably small number, at least up to twenty, both in fact and in words. It is true that they have no root words for numbers above four (or indeed above three, but they are not aware that their "four" is not a root word) and this may be in their minds when they make such statements. It is also true that they prefer counting on fingers (and toes if need be), starting always with the little finger, to counting verbally and that number words above four are seldom used. During our stay several Indians, who knew no other Spanish, learned and apparently preferred the Spanish number words and these may eventually replace the Indian words for higher numbers, at least. To establish linguistic affinities at the outset, each of the lower numerals is given in seven other dialects increasingly distant from Kamarakoto.

[177] *192 *197 802

1. One — tankin. Taurepan, taukin, also (Koch-Grünberg) Teukinan, tiwin (probably Makuchi, not Taurepan?). Makuchi (Williams) ti-win. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)kin. Akawai (de Goeje) tegina. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehuin (for tewin?). Kalina (de Goeje) awin (rounded a more or less as in English "all"). These varied but related words all appear to come from an irreducible basic Carib root. Motilon (Jahn) Kumarko.
2. Two — tsaganɛ̨'. Taurepan, tsagane, sa:kane. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-ga-ne. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (a)tsa:lonkon (= atsar(on)+ plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) azare. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) azake. Kalina (de Goeje) aka (a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosarko. Several derivations of this word have been suggested (see de Goeje) but all seem unlikely and it is perhaps a basic root.
3. Three — etseurau. Taurepan, tseuruwane, (Koch-Grünberg) seulnane (= seuru(w)ane). Makuchi (Williams) e-se-re-wa. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (e) tse(u)luaonkon (= etseurua(on) + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) osorowa. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) azorao. Kalina (de Goeje) arua (first a rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosera. This word appears to be and is generally accepted as a basic Carib root.
4. Four — atsakə-leülaˀ-nɛˀ. Taurepan, tsakurölanɛ̨. (Koch-Grünberg) sa:kele:le. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-ku-rə-ba-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) atsakelenankon (= atsakelenan + plural

40 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 — Analyst]

*197 same meanings. Some languages use both primary roots. e.g. Caribi, many
601 use the primary root for "husband," but the secondary for wife, e.g. Makuchi,
171 and a few Kamarakoto among them, use the secondary words for both. The Taurepan -ti:yemu(n) is decidedly aberrant. Like most others, this language does use the root tamu, in the form (u)-tamo, for "grandfather."

Ethnographic Words.

*192 a. Instruments for hunting and fishing.
*197
411 86. *Bow — ura:pa. Taurepan, ura:pa. Makuchi (Williams), u-ra-pa.
87. *Arrow — purau. Taurepan, pulōu. Makuchi (Williams) pə-reu.
Kinds of Arrows (for exact definitions see later pages):
88. *upalari. Taurepan, səpalari.
89. *pana:chika. Taurepan, pana:shika (sh as in English "ship").
90. waibakasi.
91. *tarau (literally "simple"). Taurepan, tara.u.
92. Bowstring — urapa-yeba.
93. Weapon (bow, shotgun, etc.) — rapai.
94. *Blow-gun (cerbatana) — kurai'. Taurepan kura' . Makuchi (Williams) ku-ra.
95. *Blow-gun dart — kunwa. Taurepan, kunwa. Makuchi (Williams), kum-wa, kun-wa.
96. Detachable point of dart — iporosa' .
97. Twist of tree-cotton on dart — atsari-kuma:sa' .
98. Quiver for darts — mōi-yɛ.
99. Container for tree-cotton — tsimui' .
100. Dart poison (curare) — kunawara.
101. *Shotgun — alakaputsa. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) arakebusa.
● [177] Makuchi (Williams) a-ra-ka-bu-sa. This is the obsolete Spanish word "arcabuz" = "arquebus," which was passed along with the weapon from tribe to tribe and is now the word for gun in almost all tribes of this region, regardless of affinities. (See Nordenskiöld, 1922).
*192 102. Fish-hook — kunoi' .
*197 103. Fishing line (or any string) — yeba, also kunoi' yeba.
227 104. Fish-trap — muroi' .
105. Fish-poison (barbasco) — inɛ' .[48]
Fish-net (two kinds, described on later page):
106. *iru' . Taurepan, kari' , but Koch-Grünberg gives hilu. Williams does not note the word in Makuchi but Koch-Grünberg quotes cami (kami) from a Brazilian colonist.

[48] [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 — Analyst]

*192 *197 227 [41]

The root kami probably is not related to kari' and means a hammock in Arekuna.

107. *pendə. Taurepan, pendə. Makuchi (Williams) pen-də.

The words in this class are relatively constant not only in the three languages here principally considered but also in many other Carib dialects, some of them only distantly connected with these.

*192 *197 372

b. Fire and food.

108. *Flint (for making fire) — kakon. Koch-Grünberg gives wato (same word as for the whole apparatus) for "flint" and kako: for "rock crystal" in Taurepan.

109. *Steel (for making fire, generally a piece of file) — kulũ-kulũ. Makuchi (Williams), kəri-kəri, "file." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) kõlõ-kõlõ. Files, either in their proper use or as steel for making fire with flint, obviously are not aboriginal but must have been acquired from Europeans and then traded from tribe to tribe. Most such acquisition have European names, more or less disguised (cf. alakaputsa for "shotgun"), but I can detect no such origin for kulũ-kulũ. As one would expect, however, it is practically international among the Indians, occurring even in languages quite unrelated to Kamarakoto, e.g. in Guinau (kũlũ-kũlũ). I suspect that it is onomatopeic, an attempt to imitate the sound of a file in use, uttered by the first Indians to observe it and passed on as the name of the article to other tribes with which they traded. We observed the beginning of such a process when the Kamarakotos started calling a camera tsə', from the sound of the shutter.

[177]

110. Tinder — wato-dapon.

111. *Flint, steel, and tinder, as carried — wato. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg), wato. See discussion of next word.

112. *Fire, firewood — apoi'. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) apo'. Makuchi (Williams) a-po. As Koch-Grünberg has noted, wato usually means "fire" in Carib dialects. There are, indeed, two series of Carib words meaning "fire." One has forms that are simple variants of wato and the other, more variable, forms like wapoto ("uapoto," Yao, Adam) apoto (Cumanagoto, Adam), and apo. Forms like wapto (Tamanaco, Adam), suggest that they may be derived from the same primitive word. In Kamarakoto and Taurepan these are both retained, with different but

*192 *197 285 informants. wai-ka-ra-bo is given by Williams for "basket" (in general) in Makuchi, but I suspect that it includes only certain types of baskets, like its Taurepán cognate. At least in Kamarakoto and Taurepán there appears to be no one word for "basket" but only a large number of words for particular kinds of baskets — the sort of specificity and lack of abstraction so common in primitive languages.

*192 301 d. Clothing, personal ornamentation, and allied words.

154. (Glass) bead — kasu:ru.

155. String of glass beads (simple) — kasu:ru pəregə:nsa.

156. String necklace with various objects tied on — yaichi[9].

157. Seeds (bell-like) used on necklaces — tsiriṅka.

158. A streamer with such seeds — te-pūlū.

159. Bead necklace patterns — waroro-yeupə-pɛ kana[7], i.e. "twisted (or woven) waroro (kind of fish) bones."

160. okōi-yeupə, i.e. "snake-bones."
— and other similar descriptive phrases.

161. Twisted bead belt (for men) — kasu:ru-seke-katsa[9].

[304] 162. Tattooing — meta:men

*192 291 163. *Clothing, costume, dress — pondo[9], (i)pon. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) (u)mbaipon, (u)pon.

*192 *197 291 ● 177 164. Loin-cloth (men) — wayiku. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamizha-le. Makuchi (Williams) ka-mi-cha. Cumanagoto (Adam) huaicu-r,[50] "woman's apron." Chaima (Adam) guayuco,[50] "woman's apron." The Taurepán and Makuchi words are from the Spanish (or Portuguese) "camisa" — "shirt" — a curious transfer apparently explicable by the fact that "camisa" was first transferred by the Indians to trade-cloth, such as is used for shirts. Their loin-cloths are now made of such cloth and not of native fabrics. This is also true of the Kamarakotos, but they have retained a Carib word. In most, but not all, other Carib dialects this word applies to the female apron and not the male loin-cloth but in Kamarakoto it is used only for the latter. This Indian word, as "guayuco," is familiar in Venezuelan Spanish and is generally taken to mean the female apron.

*192 *197 165. *Belt (men, generally only a cotton string used to hold up wayiku) — tien-akɛmūi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) y negam.

291 166. *Bead apron (women) — motsa. Taurepán, mosa. Makuchi (Williams) mosa.

50 [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 - Analyst]

167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (= pərai).

168. Trade cloth — sara:sa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

} These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakume.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamüi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pügamə', lower band (y)e:ndapəgemə'.

175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pana:da. (pana = "ear").

176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara." [51]

e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o.ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o.i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

180. *karöi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

[51] [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 — Analysis]

*192 *197 504

before w and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — kuriyara. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adopted in South American Spanish "curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally kanawa (etc.) means any kind of boat and kuriyara (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the kuriyara and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word kan.wa which, to them, is virtually a synonym of kuriyara.

[482]

225. Paddle — kan.wa-patre.

226. Man's carrying frame — wayare.

*192 *197 534

j. Musical instruments and dances.

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — kamai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kama:yen.

228. Flageolet (end-flute) — lue, lwe, rue. (The word also designates the reed from which these fifes are made.)

229. *A small variety of lue — kaikara. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikala, "side-flute."

230. Flute (side-flute) — nan-nau.

[472] [231]

231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — kacho. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.

232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — maraka. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.

[171]

233. *Drum — sambura. Taurepán, sambura. Makuchi (Williams) sanbu-ra sambura. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinau sambola, in Shiriana samboara, and in Maku sambula. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

*197 825

word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi.nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyinga, po.inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po.ingà). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kaliña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po.i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

[533]

304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tökönoma. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyinga) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

825 231 177

305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

825 114

b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

825

306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

*197 825 262

(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" - Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ', in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

75 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analysis]

*197 824 241

the universal equivalence of R and L) the shift of initial P to K or G, also seen in some other words of these dialects. This is perhaps the plant called "ñame" in the Spanish of Venezuela, but there are several other edible species of Dioscorea besides this and the next.

386. *Yam, another species (probably Dioscorea triphylla) — napwei. Taurepán, napui. This is the root-plant called "mapuey" in Venezuelan Spanish, a word evidently cognate with napwei. It is probably a native plant and the Kamarakotos may well have received the word direct from other Indian dialects and not through Spanish.[79]

387. Another root -plant, not seen, (probably another sort of Dioscorea) — puwa.

388. Sweet potato, Spanish "batata" (= Ipomea batata) — (i)cha'. (The true potato is not known here.) (See footnote 79.)

389. *Squash (and various allies, Cucurbita spp.) — auyama. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaudama (for kauyama, very soft d). Makuchi (Williams) kau-ya-ma. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) kayama. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kauyama. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) hauyama. See remarks on next word.

390. *Black beans — kumata. Makuchi (Williams) ku-ma-sa. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kuma:za.

Some of the Kamarakotos assured me that both squash and black beans were relatively recent introductions among them. This is possible, but both are native plants and the Kamarakoto words are good Carib. It is possible for squash (but not beans) that they have acquired the Carib word from Venezuelan Spanish, in which it is universally used ("auyama"), and if so, this would be a remarkable example of a tribe acquiring a word of its own ancestral language by way of a foreign language. It is far more likely, however, either that the plants, however little used, and their names have been continuously familiar to some Kamarakotos, or that both plants and names recently came from an allied Carib group.

391. *Pineapple — kaibara'. Taurepán, kaiwara'. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra. This illustrates the common open b = w equation.

392. Peanut — aneu'.

393. *Sugar cane — kaña. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaperon, kapelon. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra-kui-ma. Sugar cane is a relatively recent introduction in this region and the three words cited interestingly show processes of acquiring names for such new things. The Kamarakoto word is, of course, simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent.

[177] [192]

79 [see footnote on pp. 15-16, category 116 — Analyst].

*197
824
241

but doubtless the plantain). I believe this to be the Spanish word "plátano." The equation pl- = kur- is not unlikely in these dialects and the long a in the antepenult suggests some peculiar history such as derivation from a word with an accent on that syllable.

401. *Another variety ("plátano altón" in local Spanish) — paruru. Taurepán, paruru. This word appears with some variations in practically all Carib dialects and in most vocabularies it is defined simply as "banana." It has become one of the most widespread of native names for the banana, although the Kamarakotos explicitly confine it to one sort, not the most common, of plantain. The probable history of the word (drawing heavily on Nordenskiöld, 1922, and other authorities) is that it is an old Carib root for the inedible native "wild banana," Heliconia ("bijao" in local Spanish) that was spontaneously applied to the similar introduced Musa, with varying exact application among the various different sorts of Musa.

[128]

So few students have recorded variety names for these fruits that it is futile to attempt to trace the relationship of these. It is curious that no Indians appear to use any word related to the colloquial Venezuelan "cambur."

824
241
402. Papaya, = Carica papaya — mapada.

[172]
[192]
403. Watermelon — patiya. This is of very recent introduction and the name is the Venezuelan Spanish "patilla." This word is, indeed, supposed to be of Carib derivation (which is strange since the plant is African) but it apparently reached the Kamarakotos through Spanish and not direct from its Carib cognates.

404. Bright yellow, somewhat tomato-like fruit — pupu.

405. Corn (maize) — anai'.

406. Chile pepper, (= Capsicum sp.): Small, elongate, red variety — polopakai'

407. Small, yellow variety — adamaka:yena

408. Large, round, red variety — paradan

409. Very small, round, red variety — pariyana

410. Ovate, red variety — churu

411. Round, yellow variety — kurapupai'

keuke that is not too wildly conjectural.

Of the "Ancient Kamarakoto" words, it can be said that 1, 3, 5, 6, and 8 are rather surely Carib. Four, 7, and 9 might be but the evidence is poor. Two is wholly uncertain. Four is suggestive of Arawak, but not conclusively, and the list as a whole is definitely not Arawak. It is interesting that 1 and 5 quite definitely and 4 and 9 vaguely and uncertainly suggest true Carib roots that are absent or strongly modified in modern Kamarakoto. Since the Kamarakotos could hardly invent these resemblances to dialects unknown to them, these words thus tend to confirm their claim that the list represents a real and distinctive language now extinct.

Without placing too much reliance on it, this curious lot of words is consistent with the Kamarakoto claim that their present language has replaced another. If so, the ancient language was apparently also Carib, but probably was a distinct language and not simply an ancestral form of Kamarakoto. The list is obviously insufficient to establish the closer affinities of the extinct tongue. The whole problem is highly conjectural, but it is possible that some of the Kamarakoto words that differ radically from Taurepán may have been derived from this extinct Carib language.

Spanish Influence in Kamarakoto.

The Kamarakotos, as a tribe, have had very little contact with Spanish-speaking peoples and the influence of Spanish on their language is almost negligible. The following words of Spanish origin were heard in use by Kamarakotos who did not otherwise speak Spanish:

Kamarakoto	Spanish	Remarks
alakaputsa	arcabuz (arquebus, archaic word for gun)	This is a very old borrowing, spread from tribe to tribe among almost all Indians of this region. The Indians, and most Spanish-speaking travelers, are quite unaware that the word is Spanish.
sara:sa	zaraza	Not, as in Spanish, a particular kind of cloth but

*192

any non-native cloth, a recent borrowing.

[177] somberero (sombrero (hat)) kamisa (camisa (shirt)) pantalon (pantalon (trousers)) alpargata (alpargata (canvas slippers)) — These are very recent borrowings; both the things and the words have been acquired by the tribe only within the last four or five years.

[172] kaña (caña (sugar cane)) [171] t rabichi (trapiche (cane press)) — These are relatively old borrowings, sugar growing and extraction evidently having spread among the wild tribes even in Colonial times.

watea — batea (wooden bowl or trough)

kacho — cacho (cow's horn) — A very recent borrowing, the horn being still a great novelty and rarity.

kachimba — cachimba (tobacco pipe)

kalaboɔso — calabozo (jail) — The Indians apply this term to an air-tight house, not used as a jail.

tap ra — tabla (wooden board) — The Indians apply this word to boards or mats used to close a door.

sambura — tambur (drum) — The generally accepted Spanish derivation of this word is not quite certain.

pero — perro (dog) — There is a Carib word for "dog" but the Kamarakotos do not use it.

*192 [231] kochino	cochino (pig)	This is hardly a useful word at present, as there are no pigs there now, but it is known.
kura:tana	platano (plantain)	This is an old borrowing, so thoroughly Caribized that its Spanish origin has apparently not been noticed before.
[135] [439] oro, woro'	oro (gold)	Although gold occurs in this area the Kamarakotos appear to have been unaware of it until they discovered that it can be traded to the Whites.
patiya	patilla (watermelon)	This is supposed to be a Carib word, but I believe that the Kamarakotos have received it from Venezuelan Spanish (which may, indeed, have had it from some other Carib language).

*192 •177 These words all apply to things that were received by the Indians directly or indirectly from Spanish-speaking people and not to native things except tapɔra and oro and even these apply to things for which there do not appear to [534] be old Carib words. The drum is usually supposed to be introduced but may [231] not be. Dogs are native and there is a Carib word for "dog," but the Kamarakotos may have received them from Spanish-speaking people.

On the other hand, there are introduced things for which the Kamarakotos have Carib words, among them:

kasu:ru	glass beads
peoi	nail
umamari	mirror
waka	ax
mari:a	knife
kutsupara	machete
kulū-kulū	file
kōroitoko	chicken

*192 The last two words are probably onomatopoeic and the others are probably names of native things now replaced by introduced substitutes. The numerous varieties of bananas, supposedly introduced, also have names that are of native origin, as far as known.

*192 Few words can be identified as surely borrowed from other Indian languages and Kamarakoto shows no extensive mixture with non-Carib dialects. They use a few words perhaps of Tupi or Arawak origin but so widespread among Caribs as to be Carib words for all practical purposes. Karoi, for the Genipa dye, differs radically from the word in allied Carib dialects (usually variants of ruku) and may be related to some variant of the Arawak word karutu. If so, it would be a nearly unique example of borrowing direct from a wholly foreign Indian language and not through other Carib dialects.

Classification of Kamarakoto and Allied Languages.

*197 Omitting numerous subdialects, poorly known dialects, some that became extinct before they were well classified, and others of doubtful or unimportant status, the principal Carib languages may be classified as follows:

I. Main or northeastern division.

A. Coastal group

Kaliña, Kalinga, Galibi, Karibi, Caribi. (The so-called Island Carib is a mixture of Kaliña and Arawak).

Kumanagoto, Cumanagoto.

Palenke, Palenque.

Chaima, Chayma, Core, Paria.

Tamanako, Tamanaco.

Oyana, Ayana, Uayana, Rukuyen, Roucouyenne.

B. Amazon group

Trio.

Umaua: a. Hianakoto.
b. Guake, Huake.
c. Kariona.

Pianakoto.

Apalai, Aparai.

Wayewe, Wayawai, Woyaway, Waiwai.

C. Bonari group

Bonari.

Yauapery, Uaimeri.

D. Central or Roroima group

Akawai, Acawai, Accawai.

Ingariko. (Perhaps only an Akawai dialect.)

165 has very high infant and child mortality and a short life span for those who survive this period. As a general impression which could not be checked by any actual figures, the mortality at intermediate ages, say between 15 and 35, is probably relatively low.

16 With a birth rate probably about 5 or somewhat more per mature woman and a pre-maturity mortality of about 50%, the tribe should be holding its own or increasing slowly. There are no independent data to show whether this is true, but there is some reason to believe that it is true in general, over long periods, but that the tribe has decreased within the past generation or so. The desertion of the desirable upper part of Kamarata has been mentioned and the whole region is thinly populated, even by Indian standards. Without any alteration in mode of life, it could surely support several times as many Indians as are living in it, probably at least ten times as many. Several older informants agreed that the population was much more dense when they were young. They explain this by the occurrence of epidemics, and there is no reason to doubt that this is the real cause. The present birth rate and mortality figures refer to an exceptionally favorable period. There have been periodic epidemics and crop failures that have abruptly lowered the population, which then builds up again slowly during periods like the present.[102] The Indians vigorously deny that there is any significant emigration, and there is no evidence in favor of this. Among the many details that I obtained regarding size of families and the whereabouts of their members, there were a few cases of individuals leaving the central group and going to the Caroní or elsewhere in this region to live, but only one of an individual leaving the tribe altogether. On the other hand there are several Arekunas who came from elsewhere (mostly from the Gran Sabana) and joined the tribe — even one Akawai, now dead, did so in recent times. This immigration must at least balance the small emigration.

162 Venezuelans (aside from expeditions) have several times visited the tribe
●177 and at least two have lived there for considerable periods. One had been with the tribe for about three years at the time of our visit and had married into it. In view of the demonstrated great fertility of the women in native wedlock, it is interesting that neither he nor another Venezuelan, now dead, who married
[144] a Kamarakoto woman, are said to have had any children. I have no reason to favor any one of the several possible explanations, but it is important that as far as known the Kamarakotos still do not have any admixture of non-Carib blood, although they do have some from other Carib tribes.

Names

551 As shown in the list of household head-men (to'-esa', "amo de la casa")
177 given above, most of the Kamarakotos of the central group have Spanish names.

102 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]

Practically all of the adult men of this group have such names. Small children ordinarily do not and a few young men or adolescents do not. Of 23 females recorded in detail, only 6 lacked Spanish names and 4 of these were young girls. On the other hand, as far as noted, none of the allied Indians from outside the central group have Spanish names. The Indians without Spanish names at first maintained, without exception, that they had no names at all. Later, when more intimate relationships were established, it was admitted that all do have Indian names, but even then all my informants absolutely refused to reveal what these were in any instance.[103] The Indians seldom address each other by name, rarely by a Spanish name and, as far as I could learn, never by a true Indian name unless in the utmost family privacy.

The reluctance of most Indians, and especially Caribs and Arawaks, to use or even to reveal their personal names, even among Indians and of course especially to foreigners, is well known. See for instance Koch-Grünberg (1923, Vol. III, pp. 140 seq.), who found this to be true among the Taurepánes. The feeling seems to be that this name is an essential part of the personality, the ego, which suffers when it is revealed, and that knowledge of it also confers power which may be used against the owner. The Kamarakotos certainly have this feeling to a high degree. Possibly in this case it is reenforced by the desire of the cacique to make his tribe appear as "civilized" as possible and I suspect that he prohibited the revelation of any Indian names. The usual reason given, however, for refusal to reveal an Indian name was that it would "hurt" the person named.

Caribs do ordinarily have nicknames, as opposed to personal names, which are also generally used only rarely and with care but which are at least known to all members of the tribe. In conversation I heard Kamarakotos use words apparently of address, in some cases animal names, that I believe to be Indian nicknames, but I did not confirm this because to attempt to do so would have destroyed their frankness in speaking before me. In fact what seems to have happened in the central group is that Spanish names are now used essentially as nicknames or in substitution for Indian nicknames. Two or three Kamarakotos who had been in Venezuelan settlements claimed to have been baptized. The cacique has given names to some of his people and others have received them as presents from travelers or have conferred them on themselves.[104] Some have only one Spanish name, but others use both given names and surnames. The European system of hereditary surnames is quite foreign to any Indians and the surnames in use among the Kamarakotos are not really employed as such, a son does not take his father's surname nor does a wife take her husband's. In one case brother and sister did use the same surname, but she retained this and did not exchange or add her husband's when she married, nor did she give her or her husband's surname to their children. Brothers do not necessarily have the same surname, nor do father and son.

103, 104 [see footnotes on p 319, category 116 - Analysis]

almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakɛn, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyɛ, being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarɛ, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarɛ, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarɛ, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarɛ. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

241 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop.
311 In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or
134 242 pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

[262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.), Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.

[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and
● 177 probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319 category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

23/ In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
177 but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
235 mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[522] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).*

[*see footnote on p 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[*see vocabulary on pp 54-89, category 116 - Analyst]

411
284

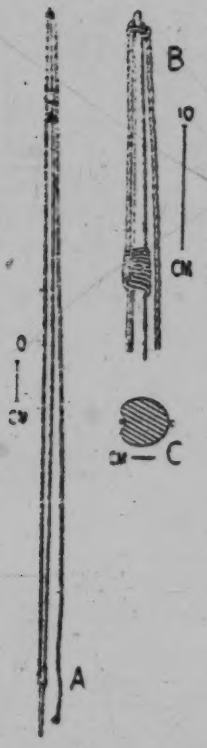

Fig. 15 — Kamarakoto Bow.
A, the whole bow from the side, unstrung.
B, end showing attachment of bowstring (to right) and re-enforcing string (to left).
C, cross section near middle, bowstring to right.

224 ours, as we saw. In short, these are agricultural Indians and their hunting has
433 more the aspect of a diversion than of a gainful occupation.

411 They claimed to have about fifteen shotguns in the tribe, but most of
177 these are probably never fired. We saw two or three, old muzzle-loaders traded in from Brazil, the Guianas, or northern Venezuela. Practically all the Indians of this general region acquired a few guns long ago, before any civilized persons had ever visited them, but powder and shot have always been rare and expensive and the guns are reserved for great occasions or are articles of pure luxury. They have never become every-day weapons.

411 of arrows used by related tribes that I did not see among the Kamarakotos and
171 that my informants did not know: an arrow with a heavy, blunt wooden point used to stun birds, an arrow with a trident point used to shoot fish (for this and the last see Koch-Grünberg, Taurepán specimens, Vol. III, Plate 14, and Roth 1924, Figs. 52, 54), and one with a detachable poisoned wooden point
[208] (Makuchi and Waiwai, Farabee, Plate XXXIII). The Kamarakotos never use poison (curare) on arrows to be shot with a bow.

411 The use of steel points is, of course, post-Columbian and comparison
● 177 with related tribes shows that they have replaced bone and wooden (especially bamboo) points. There is no evidence that this tribe or any close relatives ever used stone arrow points and I have not been able to learn that any have been found in Venezuelan Guayana, although stone axes have. Stone spear (not arrow) points apparently occurred at least among more distantly related tribes. The Kamarakotos do not now use spears. The use of steel points doubtless goes back to colonial times and the Kamarakotos have no memory of their
[325] introduction, saying that they have "always" had them. They are made mostly from pieces of old machete blades, worked cold with a file or on stones. Hot working of iron is unknown.

411

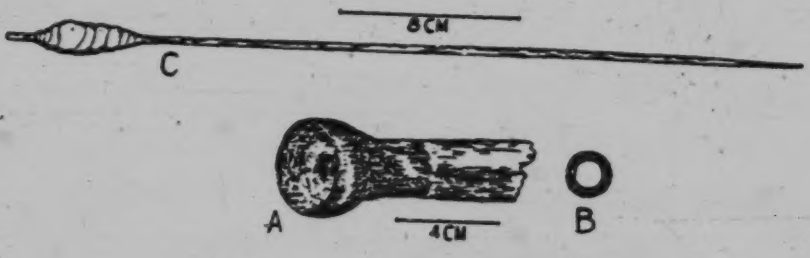

Fig. 17 — Kamarakoto Blowgun and Dart.
A, oblique view of proximal end of blowgun with mouthpiece. B, end view of distal end showing the two fitted tubes. C, typical dart ready for use, with curare (black) on tip.

The favorite weapon is the blowgun, kurai' (Fig. 17A, B), but it is more expensive to the Indians and is therefore not as common as the bow, which can be entirely made at home. The blowgun is made of two wooden tubes, the inner one (sanwoto) perfectly straight and with a continuous straight bore. This is so weak that it bends when supported only at one end and it also splits easily. It is therefore inserted into an outer casing of harder wood (yurwa), which supports the inner tube but cannot be used alone because it is jointed and cannot be prepared with an even bore. The two tubes are carefully selected and

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely.
[171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117]
[192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used
174 wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic
[114] form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and,
242 in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and
423 jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember
721 arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory
685 at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil
172 by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that
439 penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi[y] in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still [172] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any combread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the 273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash 171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122] 263 The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco, 407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian, 171 especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[174] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes [174] is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign 407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and [401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,

122, 123 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 [249] The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes [122] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

411 [171] The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no [173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 177 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 – Analyst]

precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawau-yɛ and kopei-yɛ (see "Vocabulary").[1] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o.ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

[125, 126 see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
[1 see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

4/5 The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a consid-
177 erable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

352 The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks,
[322] and cradles. The native bench, aponoi?, is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and
[576] Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

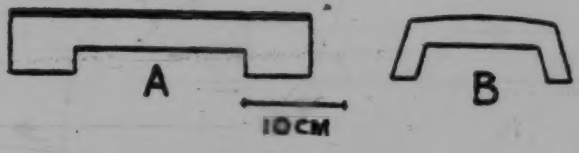

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi?, hewn from a single block of wood.

[573] As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks.
[572] Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of

285 kumara-katsa? — large, flat palm-leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285 422 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Adoption of European Dress.

291 ● 177 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and [173] an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a [437] statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods.

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 48]

291
.172
294
516
231
295
822

Fig. 31 — Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
147a

291/177 but they prefer ordinary manufactured long trousers. To this may be added a shirt, a pair of alpargatas, and perhaps a hat — few men have this much.[129]

[822] Aside from alpargatas, which a few of them have acquired, the only European clothes used by women are dresses, which they make themselves from cotton trade goods, preferably bright red.[130]

294 These dresses are made from a straight piece of goods, folded double, sewn along the selvage.[131] About six inches are left unsewn next to the fold, for armholes, and a hole is cut for the neck in the middle of the fold. They are neatly hemmed and the neck is often finished with a band, usually of [177] another color. Steel needles and store thread are used. All sewing is done with double thread and they begin with a very long strand with the result that it knots frequently and they spend considerable time patiently unknotting it. The cloth is usually held by one foot, between the first and second toes, stretching the cloth out in a straight line from body to foot and sewing toward the body (Fig. 31). Stitches are large and irregular in length. Side seams are sewn with a half-back stitch. Only one variant was seen, with the two pieces whipped together as in overcasting. Hems are sewn either half-back or with a single running stitch, usually the latter.

Strips of cloth used to bind the neck edges are about one inch wide, straight, sewn on with running stitch, turned and caught down with a hemming stitch. Necklines may be of various sorts, boat-shaped, round, round with a [853] slit down the front, etc. For nursing mothers they must be large enough to permit the child to get at the breast, although occasionally the armhole is left extra large and the breast reached through it. If the goods happens to be extra wide, crude, irregular pleats may be taken around the neck. Dresses usually reach to just below the knees.

291 These dresses are thus somewhat different, both in methods of making 177 and in pattern, from those current in Venezuela and they represent the interesting phenomenon, so well illustrated by North American tribes in historic times, of the development of new native cultural traits on the basis of introduced materials.

Native Costume.

The dresses thus described are native costume fully within the meaning of the words, but under this heading I shall describe the older costume, still extant and only now in process of being partly supplemented and partly replaced by costumes European in basic model.

291 The man's costume consists solely of a belt, loincloth, and sometimes sandals. The belt, tien-aka:mūi (a word also applied to European belts), generally consists simply of a white cotton string tied around the waist. Sometimes, for special occasions, a more elaborate belt of twisted strands of beads is used

129-131 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

294 [829] [28] The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled, while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above 291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost 171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are 182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in- [46] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around [177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called <u>purai</u> while [192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around [286] the waist. This apron, the <u>mosa</u> or <u>motsa</u>, is now always a woven fabric with [177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns — [53] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates,[133] Some of the women always wear the <u>mosa</u>, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 114 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include 291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre- [177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name <u>kamisa</u>, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

174 114 291 opinion. Despite this array of authority, I venture to disagree to the extent of believing that both the loincloth and the apron are aboriginal, although their distribution has undoubtedly been modified since the European invasion and perhaps in part because of it.

No one can or does doubt that many tropical Indians went completely naked, and some do to this day, but it is faulty generalization to conclude from early observations of this fact that the loincloth and apron are not aboriginal. Indeed many or most of the early authorities who state that the Indians are naked go on to say that they have loincloths or aprons or both. This is true of Barrere, on whom De Goeje principally relies, and an equally early authority (Gumilla, 1745) also notes the use of loincloths. Harcourt (in "Purchas his pilgrimes"), a still older authority, says, like Barrere, that the Indians are "all naked" and, also like Barrere, immediately adds that some of them do wear loincloths. The evidence of the earliest authorities is not really that clothing was unknown, but merely that some Indians dispensed with it, a fact that is not in any doubt for that or any subsequent time. References to the use of pubic coverings are as old as those to complete nakedness and often are the same references. In the first place these early observers often called an Indian naked even if he (or she) covered the pubic region, but was otherwise bare, and in the second place they emphasized the true nakedness of some individuals or tribes without meaning or saying that all the Indians were stark naked. The scanty but fairly definite historic evidence is thus opposed to the conclusion so often drawn from it: it strongly suggests that some Carib or other tropical Indians were wearing loincloths, at least, probably also aprons, when the Europeans first encountered them.

114 291 177 In any case, I am quite at a loss to see by what reasoning it could be supposed likely that these coverings arose under European influence. The idea verges on the ridiculous, because it is quite obvious that no European visitors wore anything of the sort. They may have urged the more widespread use of the native garment, faute de mieux, although there is little clear evidence even of this, but their efforts in general and as recorded by themselves were of course to make the Indians adopt European garments, dresses for the women and trousers for the men. In fact, to a European missionary or voyager the native apron as female raiment is scarcely more modest than complete nudity and it is contrary to common sense as well as to the records to suppose that they introduced this scanty garment.

174 114 291 Koch-Grünberg's etymological argument is also valueless. Contrary to his statement (also made by Roth and others), there is a native Carib word for loincloth: it is wayiku (and numerous variants) which does not, as commonly supposed, apply only to the female garment. In some tribes it means that; in others, it includes both male and female pubic coverings; in still others, including the Kamarakotos, it means only the male loincloth. It is reasonably certain that the word originally applied to both male and female garments and

174 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as
114 distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a
291 wayiku among the Arekumas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

● [172] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal
834 among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated
[174] with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before pu-
855 berty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

301 Women usually, but not always, wear tight bands around arms and legs. At most there are four pairs of these, but three, two or none may be worn. One pair, perhaps the most common, is around the upper arm above the biceps and another, perhaps the least common, around the wrist. On the legs, one is [28] just below the knee and another around the ankle. These bands are woven (or knitted in the same way as a pakara, see "Textiles") of cotton string, alone or with a bead border, or sometimes are all beadwork. They are seamless and are made on the limb so that they cannot be removed without destroying them. 301 Girls often start to wear them shortly after they are able to walk and as they 304 are very tight they produce permanent deformity, particularly on the leg where they cause the calf to be swollen between a slim ankle and slim, or grooved, place immediately above the calf, an effect that is much admired. The upper arm band also tends to produce a definite groove, and these slight deformations are usually visible even on women who do not happen, at the moment, to be wearing armlets or leglets.[134] These bands naturally require replacement from time to time and this is sometimes delayed, or a woman who is past vanity may leave them off for good, but all women apparently wear them at times.

301 Aside from the bands, which might almost be considered part of feminine clothing, by far the commonest ornaments are necklaces, which are worn by practically all girls and women, many small boys, and a few men. A distinction is made between a necklace, properly speaking, usually of beads, prega:nsa, "necklace," or kasu:ru-prega:nsa, "bead-necklace," and a cotton string around the neck, yaichi?, to which ornaments are attached. They also wear long paired strands of beads which go around the neck and under the arms, crossing in front between the breasts and in back between the shoulders:

[822] The beads used are usually white and blue, as in the mosa, and white seems to be preferred for necklaces. Simple single strands are seldom used, the most common types being bands six beads wide and a series of loops or festoons of beads (Figs. 33 B, D). There are also special ways of stringing the beads in pairs or in patterns, such as the okõi-yeupə ("snake-bone") pattern and others (Figs. 33, 48, 49). Single strands are also used, but are almost always multiple. Flat, somewhat quadrate, brown seeds, called tsiriruka, are also strung, alternating with white beads, producing a very attractive effect (Fig. 33 C). These seed necklaces are also called kasu:ru-prega:nsa. Necklaces are often further complicated by the addition of streamers to which knitted balls, cotton tassels, puffs of down, bell-like seedcases, etc., are attached.

301 The yaichi? is even more varied than the prega:nsa because of the great ● 177 variety of objects that are tied to it. Almost all the small shiny or colored odds and ends left by previous expeditions have been carefully gathered and tied into yaichi?. Small discharged rifle and revolver shells are especially popular and make a really pleasing effect when tied in series. One small boy had a yaichi? in which were tied five .22 shells, two capybara hooves, a pocket pencil

134 [see footnote on p.322, category 116 - Analyst]

[Text continues on p.154]

sharpener, the knob from the top of a teapot, and a small square of hard rubber or other plastic of unknown original use. The strictly aboriginal yaichi[9] is usually decorated with knitted cotton balls and tassels, tufts of down or colored feathers, and teeth, hooves and claws of animals. Small silver coins, reales and medios, are eagerly sought for this purpose and two women had somehow obtained holy medals, although they were entirely unaware of their significance.

Both the prega:nsa and the yaichi[9] are undoubtedly aboriginal objects and the incorporation into them of foreign materials is a normal and inevitable phenomenon. The aboriginal kasu:ru-prega:nsa was probably made of hard seeds.[135]

Women do not wear earrings[136] and few men of the central group do so, but many of the men nominally of this tribe but from more isolated places do. This may be further evidence of the so-called civilizing influence exerted on the central group by one or two sophisticated individuals of the tribe, but it is not surely so since ear-piercing is a matter of personal taste and by no means universal even among closely related Indians who have had no such influence. Even the men with pierced ears usually insert ornaments in them only on special occasions, such as dances. The piercing of the ears consists of a remarkably large horizontal slit in the upper part of the lobe, which must be a major and dangerous operation. One boy had lost the whole lobe on one side as a result of unsuccessful piercing, although the other side was successful. Pieces of cane are inserted in these slits, generally with a tuft of colored feathers at the anterior end, and pendants may be attached to them immediately behind the ear. The most prized type of pendant, panadaino[9], and one typical of the Arekunas although it cannot be of pre-Columbian origin, consists of a double strand of beads terminating in colored tassels and with a crescentic silver ornament, made from a coin by beating and filing, attached to the middle (Fig. 32A). Koch-Grünberg figures an almost exactly similar Taurepán earring (1923, Vol. III, Plate 5, Fig. 4). The ear plugs are usually held in place by tying a small twig in front of the ear lobe, but the two plugs are not joined by a string under the chin, as Farabee says they are among the Makuchis.

We did not see any men with pierced noses or lips, although these operations are still fairly common among related tribes, even where these have had more European influence than have the Kamarakotos. With the relative scarcity of pierced ears and of tattooing, the Kamarakotos show a definite trend away from mutilation of any sort, whenever this may have set in. Since it is true even of the oldest individuals, some of whom were born decidedly before any conscious imitation of European customs, it is by no means certain that any outside influence is involved in this, and it is more likely to be a reflection of the Kamarakotos mild, easily frightened, pain-hating character and their strong dislike of inflicting any annoyance on children.

135, 136 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst].

284
286

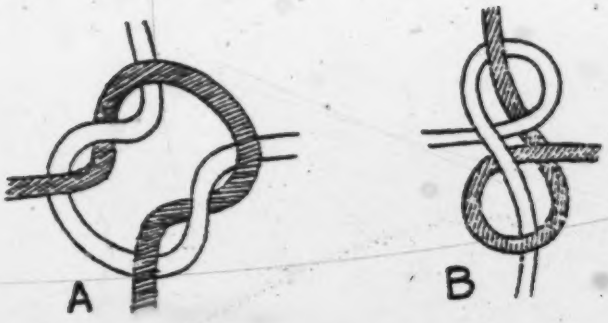

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 altemating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid [171] of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalíñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 413 177 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 – Analyst]

286

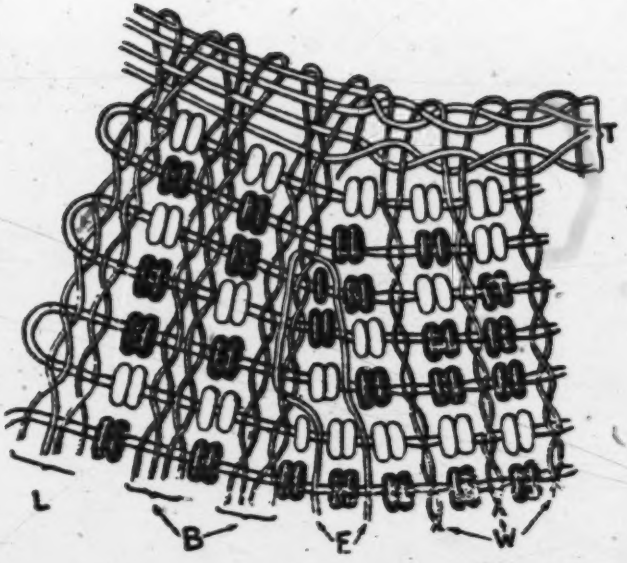

Fig. 46 — Kamarakoto Bead Apron Technique.
The diagram represents the upper left corner of an apron in process of manufacture. It shows the formation of the top edge (t) from four heavy strands, the similar formation of a lateral edge (l) and of extra border ties (b) internal to this. The insertion of the first warp strands (w) in the top edging and of extra warp strands (e) in an extra border tie are also shown as well as the manner of working in the beaded weft strands. All the strands are at least two-ply, but for diagrammatic simplicity this is shown only in the case of the first warp strands because in them the two elements separate at the insertion into the top edging. As in other bead diagrams, the fabric is actually tight and is here shown as loose and open only to make the structure clear. The natural size of this much of the fabric would be about 2 1/2 by 2 cm. A typical border pattern is shown with blue (shaded) and white (unshaded) beads. With this border, the body of the apron below it will be solid white. The lower edge will have a border symmetrical with this upper border.

286 needles — a pound or two of nails supplies the tribe for an indefinite period
413 since nails are used for no other purpose and these needles never wear out and
177 are so treasured as seldom to be lost.

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

●[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

534 The
197 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet
202 along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish
[535] word "cacho" (kacho).

534 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute,
171 called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepáne (von
[128] Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute
[824] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo-
[237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears.
[535] It is used in some dances, notably the tukūi[9] (not the parichara), and, unlike
[533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are es-
171 pecially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekumas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 87 [36] [628] [439] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

482 The man's carrying frame is called wayare, the same word as that used in colloquial Spanish, with the spelling "guayare," as a name for the akaí' and related back-packs, but I am not sure of the linguistic relationship involved here.

Carrying nets and (true) baskets used as back-packs are not employed.

Mining

316 436 437 [177] [135] 316 [177] Mining, for gold only, is an intrusive and recent element in Kamarakoto culture. There is no evidence that they use or ever have used gold for any purpose among themselves, but they have recently discovered that it can be used as a "cash crop" to obtain trade goods direct from Venezuelans, replacing balatá and a few other local products once used for that purpose. It is unlikely that gold has ever served as an object of trade or means of exchange between the Kamarakotos and other Indians. The known deposits are alluvial and patchy and production is sporadic. The gold is extracted in small quantities by washing by hand in a wooden pan, watea from the Spanish "batea," hewn from a segment of tree trunk. This method has obviously been recently introduced under (civilized) Venezuelan influence. The gold pan has the usual Venezuelan form, a broad hollow cone, used by setting the point on the ground and tipping the rim with a rotating motion, rather than holding the pan in the arms in North American fashion or hanging it by cords attached to handles as is done in parts of Central America. In at least one case the pan was decidedly deeper than any that I saw in the civilized parts of Venezuela.

At present mining is almost insignificant in Kamarakoto culture, although it has some importance in its bearing on their contacts with the outside world.

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree;
we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if
some to?-esa?, or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the
teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called to?-epuru?), but their
chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in re-
cent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions
to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the
exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in to?-esa?, but yakon
is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase).
This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be
constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance,
be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[24] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio
Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed
that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[172] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact
of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "nec-
essary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically
makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an
old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which
time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change con-
tinues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the
probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several,
are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-
political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact
that he is ordinarily also a to?-esa?.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thorough-
ly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates
what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with
others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally
acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were diso-
beyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more
than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

Marriage

58
178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male
[588] and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[179] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[487] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, ...tegory 116 – Analyst]

437 at an early opportunity pass it on to someone who does want it in exchange for
[436] something that he himself wants.[171] Even gold cannot be considered as a monetary token from the Indian point of view. It is simply a natural product that white men want and that can be traded for things that the Indians want.

439 In strictly inter-tribal trade, the Kamarakotos are not much favored by nature or their own skill and produce little suitable for exchange beyond crude pottery and good basketry. In spite of the fact that all the tribes make baskets, they all trade them also and this without much local specialization. Thus a Kamarakoto may highly prize a Maquiritare ocapa despite the fact that he is quite capable of making one himself and that the trade has not been significantly advantageous from the point of view of the labor involved. Pottery is a more obvious subject for trade because there are many households and some whole tribes that use but do not make it.

Within the last generation or two, Kamarakoto trade has been much stimulated by their activities as middlemen for non-Indian goods. For some time they gathered much balatá and they still gather some sarrapia (tonka beans) and gold. These are not objects of intertribal trade, but can be traded to Venezuelans, directly or indirectly, for non-Indian goods. To a small extent their hammocks, baskets and other articles of native manufacture and a few other wild products, such as live moriche birds, enter into the same trade. In
● [177] exchange for these, knives, machetes, files, fishhooks, guns, ammunition, beads, and cloth are principally sought. The quantity of these obtainable has always been rigidly limited and their necessity has become great, but for the most essential of them, especially knives, machetes and files, the Kamarakoto market is quickly saturated since a man who has one each is equipped for years if not for life. They are thus frequently able to obtain a small surplus of such things, and any surplus is at once expended by trading with still more remote Indians, especially the Maquiritares (including the Maiongones) and their neighbors. Guns and ammunition are prized, but have not become necessities. Un-
[172] [291] til now cloth has been necessary only in very small quantities, but with the increasing feminine fashion of wearing dresses it will become a more essential article of trade. Beads are both a luxury and a necessity and it is still almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to obtain a trading surplus of them. They have commonly been obtained not direct from an outside source but through the Arekunas of the Gran Sabana.

The Indian products required by the Kamarakotos are mainly casave graters, which they could make themselves but do not; curare, which they do not know how to make and for which the raw materials are perhaps lacking in their country; and blowguns. Sometimes they import the whole blowgun, and sometimes only the inner reed, which does not grow in this region. They also import all sorts of odds and ends, baskets, paddles, etc., that they do make themselves. Dogs are also mentioned by them as desirable imports from other

171 [see footnote on p. 32 — Category 116 — Analyst]

775 anything about such things," or "I never have thought about that." One informant said that the "wild, ignorant Indians," i.e. those unlike himself, used to believe in the surviving souls both of men and of animals and that the souls lived in the house of God, but that "intelligent Indians," i.e. those like himself, do not know whether this is so or not. The pseudo-Christian idea of survival in the house of God probably indicates that this is not a reliable statement of indigenous belief, even though it was disclaimed by the speaker and ascribed to the savages.

●177 771 There are some slight traces of Christian influence, but these have not significantly affected the thought or life of the people and cannot be considered as the cause of the degeneration of native belief. The two or three Spanish-speaking Indians have acquired with that language a knowledge of the existence of the Christian religion and they show some tendency to wish visitors to believe that this doctrine is known and revered here, mainly because they think it an indispensable adjunct of civilization and dislike being considered uncivilized. One or two individuals claim to have been baptized, which is probable since they have lived in Venezuelan towns, and even to have baptized children themselves, which is not probable. They were, however, unable to explain any item of Christian doctrine, even the meaning of baptism, and I could not learn that this knowledge extends beyond the superficial aspects of that sacrament and recognition of the cross as a Christian symbol. At least one woman has a holy medal, which she wears as others do silver coins and which seems to have [264] no more meaning for her. Several crosses have been erected on graves and one [531] in front of the abandoned house of a dead man. In one place crosses were scratched at random on a mud wall, along with various profane sketches. There seems to be a receptive attitude toward Christianity and certainly no hostility, but this certainly is largely due to lack of any realization of how antagonistic that religion is to their present mode of life and habits of thought. For instance, at least one of those who expressed himself as most anxious for the introduction of Christianity is happily married to several wives.

771 As will by now be apparent, their own religion is almost completely non-ritualistic. It involves no true cult, no sacrifices or offerings, no religious buildings or altars, no images or other sacred objects, nothing in the nature of primarily religious services or ceremonies, no real worship, and no propitiation except as a few of the piache's activities might be so considered in a very broad sense. The contrast with the highly ceremonial and theistic Indian religions of the Andes, of Mexico, and of many other parts of North America is almost as great as can be.

764 Although the body thus came to be left in the grave, no attempt was
●177 made to mark or maintain the site until very recently. Now a cross is sometimes erected — there are two in the cemetery at Uruyén and one grave (a prone burial) has a light cane railing around three sides. These are evident attempts to copy burials seen in Venezuelan villages, as reported by the two or three traveled individuals who have seen them. Of course no inscriptions are
769 used and no care is taken of the plots. There is no cult of the dead and no offerings are placed on the grave.

Notions of Time

805 The few relatively sophisticated, Spanish-speaking Indians are aware of
[177] the European calendar and system of reckoning time and will sometimes speak of months, hours, and other decidedly non-Kamarakoto concepts. It is evident, however, that even they have no definite means of telling what time it is and do not accurately know the hour or month or date. These foreign concepts are as yet quite unknown to the bulk of the tribe and of no practical use to the few who realize that they exist. The Kamarakotos have no definite time system. They recognize and designate the time of day by the height of the sun, and speak of dawn, morning, evening, early or late in the day, and so on, as we do when deprived of timepieces, but have no fixed subdivisions of the day. They reckon days for rather short intervals that are important to them, but keep no permanent or continuous record. They seem, for instance, to have no idea of how many days there are in a year and usually are quite unable to tell how many days have elapsed since an event more than a week or two in the past.

There is probably no recognized unit between the day and the year. Our interpreter spoke sometimes of months, but I could not observe that the Indians really kept any track of the phases of the moon or used them to reckon time, although I might be mistaken in this. They do, of course, recognize the year as a succession of one rainy and one dry season and within each of their two
[82] seasons they are usually well aware of relative position. For instance, they can predict rather accurately when the season is due to change and they know at about what time various fruits will ripen, flowers bloom, birds lay eggs, and so on. No continuous record of years is kept and there is almost no perception of long spans of elapsed time beyond such expressions as "when I was young," "in my father's time," "when so-and-so built his house," and so forth. No Kamarakoto has any real idea of his own age or of that of his children. Even for young children the birth of whom was still vividly in mind, statements regarding age were often manifestly absurd.

In summary, the Kamarakotos appear to be about as completely devoid of any chronological sense, system, terminology or records as rational beings can be.

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[152]

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

539 123

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).[1] He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

[1] [see p 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

539 125

The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

[171] [65]

539 776

As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not) [853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is [301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean [171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226] 296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef- 515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

[#269]

THE OLD AND THE NEW

177 178 The Indians are most interesting, from many points of view, for the survivals in their culture of aboriginal objects and customs, but it would be a mistake to think of these entirely indigenous elements as the real and true Indian culture of today and to study them only from that point of view, rejecting later modifications as irrelevant or solely as intrusions. The Kamarakotos as they exist today are subject like all of us to ever changing influences and have a culture that is integrally theirs, wherever its elements came from, and that is compounded, as ours is, of a mixture of older and newer parts. Indeed the mixture of such diverse elements in their culture is in itself interesting and instructive. The fact that they are now observed in the very process of transition from primitive culture to what we believe to be advanced culture makes their study more, and not less, interesting than would be that of a tribe showing no European influence, if such a tribe existed.

Cultural Contacts

174 177 Although we know virtually nothing of the history of this particular tribe before the present generation, it is possible to infer the general course of their cultural contacts with some probability. Elements that were not developed directly or indirectly under European influence are usually readily recognizable. In some cases there is room for argument, such, for instance, as the use of square shelters which I believe to be indigenous but some students do not. There are not many such cases and they do not obscure the general facts. These aboriginal elements may be considered representative of a single culture level basic for the tribe as we see it today. Of course this culture itself evolved and is a mixture of elements developed at different times and by different tribes, diffused in varying patterns, the overlap of which in this precise region gave the

174 typical Kamarakoto combination of elements. It would be fascinating to trace
177 this history and this has been done to a very limited extent, but from the present point of view all these elements are properly relegated to one level. This is true even though some of the aboriginal culture elements may have arisen or may have reached the Kamarakotos in post-Columbian times. The sequence is not here exactly recoverable and even an innovation within the last few years must be considered as fully aboriginal if it was not effected by any European influence. For present purposes these things are, then, "the old," and anything resulting from European influence is "the new."

Innovation, in this sense, began at the instant when Indians sighted Columbus's ships in 1492 and has continued with acceleration since that time. From the start the Indians found some European imports so useful to their own way of life that they accepted them at once and these things, once available in any quantity, spread so rapidly that they were soon in use by Indians who had never seen a white man. Steel knives and the banana are cases in point, both imports but so anciently and so thoroughly naturalized that they are today integral parts of most purely Indian cultures.

The Kamarakotos fully shared in this now old spread of introduced culture elements. It is not known and it does not particularly matter whether they received them from Europeans when the missions and the conquistadors invaded the Orinoco and the Caroni or whether they received them from other Indians. They belong to another cultural level which may for convenience be called the Colonial level (as regards this region). It is characterized by the fact that it was things, not customs or ideas, that were spread, and that they were things that were highly acceptable to an Indian because they made his life easier and
[411] more pleasant without in any fundamental way changing it. For instance, the Indians then began to use steel arrowheads, which were better than their old ones,
[262] but they continued to use the fully aboriginal bow and arrow. They began to eat bananas, which were a delightful addition to diet, but their aboriginal agricultural system was not changed.

After this, often hardly separable from it in a given case but fundamentally unlike in general, came a second sequence or level of European cultural contacts, one in which direct and close contact with people of partly or wholly European culture was involved. For some Indians this phase also began in colonial times, and even ended there with complete absorption into the modified culture of mainly European origin, but for convenience in speaking of this particular region it may be called the modern level. Many new things are introduced on this level, often more than on the colonial level. Some of them are
[372] merely improvements on colonial innovations. For instance, the colonial flint and steel replaced the aboriginal fire drill and now the modern match will eventually replace the flint and steel, all without any profound cultural significance.
177 The modern level is characterized, however, by definite changes in modes of

177 life and in habits of thought and by things that induce or that follow such more
[29] thorough-going modifications. The aboriginal fringe apron was not essentially modified on the colonial level by the use of glass beads in its manufacture, but the introduction of dresses on the modern level betokens a profound change in the use of clothing and in the psychological attitude toward it and arising from it.

It is possible that the Kamarakotos were exposed to this modern level of innovation by the end of literally colonial times, but if so it did not permanently affect them and no trace of such old direct European influence is now clearly evident. Perhaps in the most exact sense and certainly as regards essential effect on them, Kamarakoto contacts directly with the outer world are about a generation old and have begun to have a profoundly modifying influence only in recent years, or one might almost say months. Five years ago the name "Kamarakoto" was known but the tribe, as a group of real human beings, about whom the cultivated world knew, could only be called undiscovered. In truth the Kamarakotos discovered the outer world, that is, civilized Venezuela, before the world discovered them. While learned men still did not know where or how the Kamarakotos lived, the Kamarakotos already knew quite well where the nearest Venezuelan towns were and what sort of life went on there.

177 On their own initiative they have brought back a great deal from these
185 explorations of their own, which still continue, and this is one of the peculiar and striking factors in their present cultural situation. One or two of the most influential men in the tribe, notably the cacique Alejo Calcaño, have lived for considerable periods in Venezuelan towns, learned Spanish, become conversant with at least the superficial aspects of Venezuelan civilization, and brought this knowledge back to the tribe. To extend and consolidate this influence the cacique himself sent his nephew Antonio Montesdeoca into the settlements to acquire similar knowledge and to return with it to the tribe. The attitude of these men is one of progressivism, as they understand it. They are not willfully destroying the Indian way of life, but their influence is almost constantly to make it conform more and more to the ordinary Venezuelan pattern. The effects are not very apparent as yet, but the nature of this influence from within augurs rapid change. The effects are probably nearly as rapid as would be those of direct contact by the tribe as a whole. At least they are less conducive to antagonism and degeneracy, for they tend to follow the course of adapting new things to the Indian life rather than of uprooting Indian culture faster than it can be replaced, a frequent effect of the usual means of direct action.

177 More direct influence is still more recent and is mainly represented by
123 our own expedition and, to less extent, by that of last year. Even when, as was not primarily true in those cases, such expeditions have the purpose of studying the Indians as they are, they inevitably have the effect of considerably upsetting things as they are. They introduce all sorts of goods that would not reach them

177 123 for years over the painful overland route of ordinary Indian trade. They show still other and often desirable things in use. They give an example of an alien and perhaps apparently more desirable way of life. In general they enlarge horizons very suddenly.

Cultural Stratification

178 A result of these successive waves of innovations is to produce a sort of cultural stratification on three distinct and many less distinct or transitional levels. A few concrete examples will suggest the general nature of this stratification.

●177/178

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Fire making.	Fire drill.	- (total replacement)	Flint and steel.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Matches.
Weapons.	Blowgun.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Bow and arrow.	- (survival)	Steel arrowheads.	- (survival)	No further change.
		- (completely new introduction)	Firearms.	- (slow change by introduction of newer weapons evolved elsewhere)	Firearms, slowly replacing primitive weapons which still strongly survive.
Tools.	So totally lost that their very nature is uncertain.	- (total replacement)	Knife, machete, ax.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Fishing.	Poison, nets, traps.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Wooden fishhooks.	- (total replacement)	Steel hooks.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Male costume.	Loincloth.	- (survival)	Modification by use of trade goods.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Trousers.

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Female costume.	Apron.	- (survival)	Modification by use of glass beads.	- (survival)	No change.
				- (new introduction)	Dresses, supplementing and not replacing the aboriginal costume.
Cooking.	Clay pots and gourds and calabashes.	- (survival)	No change.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Enamelware, bottles, etc.
Foodstuffs.	Various native foods.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
		- (new introduction)	Banana, sugar cane, and a few others, supplementing, not replacing, aboriginal foods.	- (survival)	No change.
Cane press.		- (purely native invention, following colonial introduction of cane)	Cane press.[231]	- (survival)	No change.
Domestic animals.	Dog.	- (survival)	Possibly slight change of race.	- (survival)	No change.

231 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]

177 178

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
		- (new introduction)	Chickens.[232]	- (survival)	No change.
Musical instruments.	Flageolet.	- (survival)	No change.[233]	- (survival)	No change.
	Either no drum at all or one of somewhat different pattern.	- (introduction or modification)	Two-headed drum with X or V cord stretchers.	- (survival)	No change.
Buildings.	Round, elongate house.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Square shelters.[234]	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
				- (new introduction)	Mud-sealed square "calabozos."
Fabrics.	Plaited cotton fabrics, (baby-slings, etc.)	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change, except slight replacement by trade cloth.
	Woven fabrics (for loin cloths, etc.)	- (survival)	No change. (Next modification may have begun on this level.)	- (extensive but not quite complete replacement)	Trade goods.
Ornaments.	Necklaces of seeds, etc.	- (survival with addition)	Glass beads and seeds, etc.	- (survival)	Very slight change by addition of silver coins, etc.

232-234 [see footnotes on p. 234, category 11a - Analyst]

177/178

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Burial.	Temporary burial in crouching position, bones later removed and kept in baskets.	- (modification)	Permanent burial in crouching position.	- (incomplete modification)	Permanent prone burial.
Trade.	Indian trade of Indian products.	- (retention with complication)	Addition of three-handed trade with European products for Indian use included.	- (survival with modification)	Similar trade intensified and new products (gold, balatá) for European use added.

178 Changes in thought and habits, except as reflected in these more material changes, can hardly be tabulated although they are of at least equal importance. Among the Kamarakotos, as compared with the Caribs in general as known today and from early records, some such changes seem to be a slackening or blurring of more clear-cut older beliefs and customs. Thus one can hardly avoid the impression that their system of religious belief and practice was once more extensive and more definite in phases not related to medicine. It is a reasonable inference that the social dances once had a ritual element now quite lost, that the maraka-rattle once had magical uses, etc. It might be believed, a priori, that such changes show European influence, but as regards this tribe there is no evidence that this is the case. It is, indeed, more probable that the rather few modifications of this sort are spontaneous and represent evolution on the aboriginal level. At most, it may be true that the general modification of Indian life in recent years, such as the lessening of the necessity or likelihood of native warfare, has had some influence in this direction.

Other and more definable changes in Kamarakoto culture that fall within a social, as opposed to a material, category appear almost without exception to be extremely recent, within the last few months and years. They are s[illegible] barely incipient and have as yet had so little real influence on the tribe that t[illegible] must be considered rather as harbingers of a possible future than as actua[illegible] tures of present culture.

Factors of Replacement and Supplement

177 178 A brief review of the apparent causes of material cultural stratification and the factors governing its outcome is instructive regarding the present and suggestive regarding the future. In the first place, most of the innovations evidently fall into one of these three categories:

1. Materials adaptable to native forms without essential modification of these forms.
2. Objects that offer a new way of performing functions already adequately performed on the aboriginal level.
3. Objects that introduce new functions, not performed on the aboriginal level or there performed on an essentially different basis.

In the first category are to be placed steel as used in arrowheads, glass beads as used in aprons and necklaces, and trade cloth as used in loincloths (not dresses). Innovations of this sort change techniques, but they have no important influence on aboriginal culture as a whole and merely modify but do not replace native objects.

In the second category fall such things as firearms (with the same functions as blowguns and bows), flint and steel or matches (same function as the fire-

177 178 drill), steel cutting implements (same functions as wood, bone, and stone implements supplemented by fire), steel fishhooks (same function as wooden hooks), enamelware and bottles (same functions as pottery and gourds), banana and cane (same function as aboriginal foodstuffs), and domestic fowl (same function as native wild birds). These can definitely replace native objects and hence do or may have a profound influence on material culture. They have the potentiality, not as yet much developed in this tribe, of modifying social culture in various directions, such as giving more leisure or creating greater dependence on trade. Such influence is, however, indirect. These innovations are acceptable mainly for the reason that they do not require any immediate, direct change in native modes of life.

Among the Kamarakotos there are as yet very few innovations that belong in the third category, evidence that their culture is still almost purely aboriginal despite the visible European influence. I am at a loss to cite any clear-cut example indubitably falling into this category except the increasing use of clothing European in general model. When they do come, innovations of this sort frequently do not merely modify aboriginal culture; they tend to destroy it and replace it by something different. Even when their effect is less drastic, it is more profound and has deeper social implications than does that of either of the first two sorts of innovations. The most important elements that might be placed in this third category are new ideas and habits of thought. It has been shown that the Kamarakotos have been more or less exposed to these, but that they have as yet generally adopted almost none.

177 435 The extent to which new materials and objects will be accepted and the rate of adoption depend on preferability and availability. Preferability, in turn, depends in the Indian mind on many factors of which functional adaptation, esthetic appreciation, and expense (in the broadest sense) are most important. Steel-cutting implements are not better on grounds of esthetics or of expense, but they are so greatly better on functional grounds that they are incomparably preferable. Beads have little functional preferability and are extremely expensive, but they are so preferable esthetically that they are highly acceptable. Tin or enamel pots have some but not pronounced functional advantage, they are generally considered inferior esthetically, but they are sometimes cheaper than native ware for the same purpose (i.e., they often cost fewer hours of labor, whether obtained directly for labor or in exchange for other products of labor). Dresses do not, in the native mind, or do only to very slight extent, perform any useful function and they are very expensive, but they are eagerly accepted on esthetic (and in part more broadly social, but still psychological rather than material) grounds.

These considerations work both ways, of course, that is they may impede as well as promote the acceptance of innovations. Good native basketry is expensive (in labor) even to its own maker and objects as good or better functionally

177 could be obtained more cheaply by trade, but as yet no such replacement has
435 even begun because the native basketry is greatly preferred on grounds of esthetics and custom. All articles of trade are expensive and it is exceptional for them to be less so than a native article, so that this is a constant barrier to their acceptability and in general they will not be adopted unless strongly preferable functionally, esthetically, or in both these respects.

177 The outcome of innovation is conditioned by the balance of relative acceptability and availability. With such imperfect and difficult contact with the outer world, many things that would otherwise be acceptable cannot be obtained, or not in sufficient quantity. New articles filling an essential function naturally cannot and will not entirely replace articles already serving that function unless a supply equal to the demand continues over a considerable period. Flint and steel (that is, the essential import for this combination) has been available in sufficient quantities and over a sufficient period entirely to replace the fire-drill, to such an extent that fire making would now be impossible here if the supply of steel were permanently stopped. Matches are decidedly more acceptable than flint and steel, even on the score of expense, but their supply is not now and will not be for a long time sufficient to bring about total replacement.

177 It is under these conditions that materials and objects belonging to dif-
178 ferent culture levels but serving essentially the same purpose survive simultaneously. Matches have not driven out flint and steel, firearms have not replaced blowguns and bows, and enamelware has not replaced native pottery. In all these cases, and others, there is no doubt that the innovations will totally replace the surviving older articles in the natural course of events when the supply becomes adequate. Other articles that would doubtless be acceptable if supplied are still practically without any use (even in cases where they are known) because the supply is so nearly nil. Iron nails and other manufactured building materials, imported foodstuffs, domestic transport and food animals (except chickens), and many other things are in this class.

The Present Trend and the Future

The broad trend all over the Americas has been and still is for cultures ultimately European in main outlines to affect the aboriginal cultures more and more intimately and finally to absorb them. In doing so, the European cultures have always adopted more or less from the native cultures and have themselves everywhere received a distinctive American flavor not merely because of independent evolution in this hemisphere but also because of direct heritage from the Indians. This influence is very noticeable in Venezuela where European civilization has mixed intimately with that of the Indians and produced a distinctive Venezuelan culture with many aboriginal elements surviving even in

177 178 the thoroughly civilized centers, but the European elements are so much more numerous that Indian culture has there quite disappeared as such.

This trend has occasionally been checked or reversed temporarily, but in [174] the long run it seems to be inevitable. If Fray Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos were the ancestors of our Kamarakotos, they had in some respects been as much affected by European culture by 1800 as they have again now, and in the meantime reverted to a definitely more aboriginal condition. Whether true of this tribe or not, such was the history of some tribes as the conquistadors and missionaries advanced in the Orinoco Basin and then retreated again. Now another forward movement is well under way and the usual forward trend is re-established and is likely to be permanent.

000 Supposing that this trend continues, as it will unless checked by unpredictable disaster, the eventual complete "Venozolanization" of the Kamarakotos is inevitable in the usual, unguided course of social evolution, a result that means the certain extinction of Kamarakoto culture and the possible extinction of the Kamarakotos themselves, surely the loss of their identity. This final result can hardly eventuate before Kamarata is reached by wheeled traffic, of which there is already some prospect but which is not very likely in the visible future. The end may thus be slow in coming, but it appears inevitable.

Apart from any sentimental considerations, it will be deplorable, indeed tragic, if this natural process is allowed to go on without check or guidance. On humanitarian, social, and economic grounds, it is strongly desirable in the first place that Kamarakoto culture (and these remarks apply to all of the many other tribes in a similar situation) should not be uprooted faster than the Kamarakotos can adapt themselves to new ways. This uprooting is the "natural" event and it is one that the usual agencies, religious[235] and civil, often promote rather than prevent. In the second place it is no less desirable that the useful and admirable elements of Kamarakoto culture, which will in the ordinary way disappear just as completely as the undesirable elements and probably sooner than the latter, should be saved and perpetuated.

In the promotion of health, civilization has at least an antidote to offer against the new diseases that it will introduce, and it could considerably im- [731] prove the present mortality record of the Kamarakotos. It can also guard them against famines such as are said to have occurred infrequently in the past. Aside from these points, it is hard to see how the Indians stand to gain anything by [511] being "civilized." They are remarkably happy now, poverty is unknown, and hunger and misery are not the common lot but rare historic occurrences. The Kamarakotos already know thoroughly well how to live in their own environment. No white man can teach them: on the contrary, if white men attempt to colonize and to become self-supporting in this region they are sure to find that they can do so at present only by learning the technique from the Indians. I think no impartial observer would deny that the average Kamarakoto is now mentally

235 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 281]

142
291
301
177
302
854

Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.

101 5. They[1] were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is
101 not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred
192 if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g, "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ö, a with õ and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate õi.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

[1] [i.e. the Acawai – Analyst]

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

561 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
124 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[242] the plant kosera, the root kŏsę, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
462 planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

226 824 114 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves innumerable doubtful points.

226 271 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 263 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 177 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 401 407 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 123 124 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 531 415 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently explained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans, Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 184 302 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 114 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 824 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 283 286 352 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually factory-made, is of cotton.

114 286 ● 177 143. The daughters of Dr. Peña at Santa Elena showed me a rather poor three-strand tie, which is unlike anything I have seen described from this region, but which may not really be Taurepán since these girls are cultured, in a European sense, despite their extensive knowledge of the Taurepanes among whom they live and to whom their likewise cultured mother belongs.

114 286 144. But my wife informs me that it is basically unlike any "civilized" technique, whether crocheting or knitting, and that the term is hardly applicable to it.

145. Roth says that bags are formed by sewing together the edges of the cylinder, but this is not true of the Kamarakotos, at least, and their procedure makes a seamless pocket that is much neater than would be produced by sewing.

*285 146. The usual stated distinction between checked (or checker) and twilled patterns is that the former is always one-over-one and the latter is one (or more)-over-two (or more). It seems to me that when two strands or more are woven into the checked pattern together, as if they were a simple two (or more)-ply strand, the result is not taxonomically distinct from the checked pattern. The essential difference is whether the pattern quadrangles, no matter how many strands form them, are simply alternating as in the checked pattern or whether they succeed each other in steps or some still more complicated way. I call only the latter sort of work twilled. Twilling cannot be one-over-one, but it can theoretically have any other over-and-under formula; checking is usually one-over-one but can theoretically have any over-and-under formula.

147. This rare and aberrant form, not seen among the Kamarakotos, should probably be considered only as a variant of the hexagonal lattice, in which one set of weft strands is lacking. Roth calls it pentagonal, which it is literally.

148. A variety of wrapping in which the weft strands interlock with each other as well as wrapping the warp elements, a style so distinctive that Roth is followed in distinguishing it from ordinary wrapping. Wrapping is transitional to coiling and the locked weave could even be classed as a sort of coil although its associations, and probably also its origin, are very different from those of true coiling. It is particularly close to "lace coil" (see next footnote), as Roth mentions (in different words).

[114] 149. Kissell (1916), who has given one of the best discussions of coiled basketry, includes a third type of coiling, lace coil. The lace coil, however, is really a thread-textile and not a basketry technique. It is used to make

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 184 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [[71]] [224] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 ●177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
●177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
288 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
409

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
199 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely
aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work,
matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their
own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in
the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite
aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it
is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the
opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe
that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure
importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from
the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion
and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions.
Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from
Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have
been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured
any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English
numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst]
3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

Sanema
Casapare
Pemon 5516

P
Y /183 cont./

648
439 At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of
P the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that
[131] about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Y
241
174

Y
114
192
194 Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

Y
114 The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with
Y whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the
[648] Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the
[177] Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements,
Y such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this
[197] group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

Y
167
648 The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It
Y seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the
[131] Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the
P Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of
131 the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have
[167] vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their
P nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern
177 part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and
797 the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe
161

P
177 Casapare
799 Auake 555
161 Pemon 55 16

/184 cont./ expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

Y
177
648 The Mayoncon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

Y
101
619 Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

Y
A
101 Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

A
241
433
439 /185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

A
501 "Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying light loads.

A
582
A
101 "They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).